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WRL NEWS

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COALITION ON ECONOMIC CRISIS

Setting in motion a strong national response to the deepening economic crisis, more than 65 people met in Atlanta on December 14. Hosting the conference was the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, with WRL's Atlanta Workshop in Nonviolence, under Kate Sheehan, handling housing arrangements.

Representatives were present from the Fellowship of Reconciliation, American Friends Service Committee, New American Movement, Women Strike for Peace, Socialist Party, Movement for a New Society, Clergy and Laity Concerned, Vietnam Veterans Against the War/Winter Soldier Organization, People's Party, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, United Farm Workers, American Indian Movement, Fight Back, and, of course, the War Resisters League, which had initiated the coalition. Observers were present from the Socialist Workers Party, the Communist Party, and the Union of Radical Political Economists. WRL was strongly represented, not only by the Task Force on the Domestic Crisis–Norma Becker, William Douthard, and David McReynolds–but by a number of AWIN members, and by Greg Williams from Massachusetts, Bob Mayer from WRL/Midwest, and Mark Looney from Washington D.C.

A number of other groups and individuals had been unable to come to Atlanta but expressed strong interest and a moving letter was sent by the Gray Panthers. The one major lack was the absence of any key representatives from the Trade Union Movement–a matter of concern which a special task force was set up to deal with as quickly as possible. Informal personal contacts with trade unionists have been established, and are being pursued with considerable seriousness.

The new coalition will have offices at 339 Lafayette St., in New York City, and projects a national conference in early March and a possible national action in April. WRL is serving on the Steering and Executive Committees. Key issues that will be tackled by the Coalition on the Economic Crisis include: Unemployment, Inflation, Racism, the Military Budget. Interested WRL members should write for information to David McReynolds at the National Office of WRL.

An Unprecedented Pearl Harbor Celebration

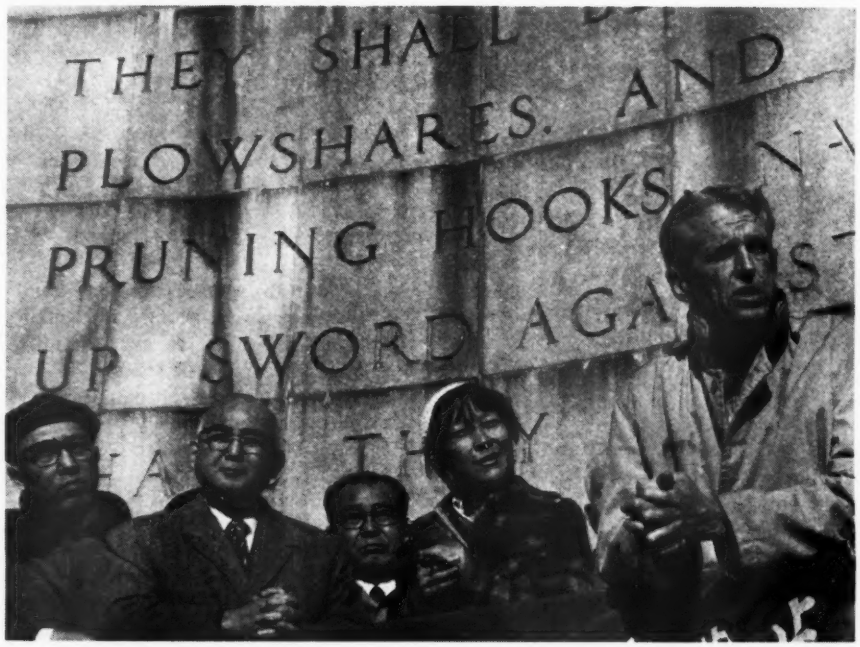


Photo by Karl Bissinger

Pearl Harbor Day, an occasion for sabre-rattling oratory, was marked this year in New York with an unprecedented ceremony for peace in front of the "Swords-Into-Ploughshares" plaque, opposite the United Nations.

Rev. Michinobu Tanaka introduced himself and three other World War II Japanese veterans (Mitsuo Kojima, Hachiro Kosasa and Dr. Kiyoshi Sakuma). Father Phil Berrigan introduced himself, four other World War II American veterans (Dick Grulich, Dick Handley, Bill Kochiyama and Al Levin) and two World War II American CO's (Ralph DiGia and your editor).

Then, the Japanese shouted "No More Pearl Harbors!" and we, Americans, shouted "No More Hiroshimas!" "No More Nagasakis!" At that point, we shook hands with one another, embraced and put our signatures to the Nagasaki Appeal for an International Agreement for the Complete Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons.

It was to promote this Appeal that the four Japanese veterans–part of a delegation of 15 persons including victims of radiation–came to the US and, on the eve of Pearl Harbor Day, to the UN. The Appeal originated at the 19th World Conference Against A & H Bombs in Nagasaki.

URGENT MEMO TO IRATE FRIENDS . . .

We get two strong complaints from WRL members, particularly around the holiday season when we are selling Peace Calendars. The first complaint is that people get three or four identical sets of promotional letters and calendar brochures. How, you may ask, is that possible? Why so much waste?

The second–and much more bitter–complaint is that "WRL sold my name" to some other publication or organization which has then sent out an appeal.

Let us make one thing perfectly clear. *WRL has never sold its mailing list.* Selling it would be easy enough–mail order houses would pay a good deal for the WRL mailing list because it is a list of decent, concerned people. It is very common for publications and/or organizations to make a little money on the side by retailing their mailing list. There is an entire industry based on direct mail, mailing lists, preparing and sending junk mail. Names are obtained in many ways–including simply copying them out of a phone book. Names are broken down into categories of income, geographic location, profession, hobbies, etc. It is a fascinating business . . . and WRL has never had anything to do with it.

We *do trade our list* to groups or publications whose subscribers or members *we want to reach.* And we trade only with such groups or periodicals whose purposes and methods are sufficiently consistent with our own, so that we feel that *you* might be interested in them. It is one of the few ways we can reach out beyond our limited ranks. If you are a very concerned person, your name will appear on several different lists we may use–and this means you may get several different promotional letters on the Peace Calendar. Please pass duplicates on to a friend. "But why", you ask, "can't you avoid the waste of this duplication?" We can–at a very high cost. We can go over the mailing list we have gotten from another organization, and check every name against our files, pulling out duplicates. This means you will *not* get duplicates, and will be very impressed with how much more efficient we are than other groups. What you will not know is that this "efficiency" is itself a kind of gimmick–so expensive is the cross-checking of mailing lists that only quite wealthy organizations can afford to do it.

It is particularly painful for us to have you feel your name has been sold. We do understand that people are tired of junk mail, that they want their names and addresses kept private. We can only tell you that if we do not trade your names to other groups, we must then find the money to buy the mailing lists of other groups or else stop expanding. Your name is precious to you–and to us. We do not lightly or often trade it and only when we think your organization–WRL–will benefit. This amounts to a kind of contribution you make to the WRL, letting us trade your name in order to get other names who may respond to the message of WRL. *However* we want to respect your right of privacy and will be willing to set up a "private file" which will never be traded. If you wish your name placed in this special category, please let us know and we will honor your request.

FY 1975 FOREIGN AID BILL

In the last issue, there was a box urging you to write your Congressperson urging adoption of an amendment reducing Cambodia's military aid ceiling. The amendment, sponsored by Representatives Conte, Aspin and Esch, was adopted by a startling *voice vote.* It places a total ceiling of $377 million on all forms of aid to Cambodia, including a $200 million sub-ceiling on military aid.

The bill itself authorizes $617 million in economic aid to Indochina. However, there will be an opportunity to reduce that figure when the Foreign Aid Appropriations Bill reaches the House and Senate floors in late January. Meanwhile, the Administration more than ever is pressuring Congress to INCREASE aid to Indochina. So, urge your Congresspersons to vote in favor of further reductions in aid.

PEACE STAMPS–FREE

Send in this coupon along with two 10 cent stamps for postage and you'll get–free–10 sheets of our beautiful 50th anniversary peace stamps. We are able to make this offer, only because we have a sizeable number left over.

Name .....

Address .....

City, State .....Zip .....

PAT ARROWSMITH FREED

Pat Arrowsmith, sentenced to 18 months for leafleting British soldiers on Ireland, was released from prison immediately by the Court of Appeal in London on Dec. 4. Though the court felt that her sentence was "richly deserved", she was released as a result of having not been prosecuted for an earlier occasion in which she used the same leaflet.

This, however, does not help the case of the "BWNIC 14" who are scheduled for a full preliminary hearing on March 3. Two of the 14, Gwyn Williams and John Hyatt, have now gotten an additional conspiracy charge of concealing men knowing them to be AWOL from the Army, and it is thought that others may be charged likewise.

SHARING FUND

The WRL Executive Committee and the Peacemakers Continuation meeting have agreed to jointly sponsor the long-established Peacemakers' Sharing Fund. The "Sharing Fund", as it will now be known, aids families of those imprisoned for draft resistance, tax refusal, or any other acts of nonviolent protest by paying rent, utility bills, medical expenses, transportation, food, and other needs.

"It remains our concern to see that we share and support those who resist war, and make this available to those who are in need of it, as well as to continue our own resistance to the war-making powers," said Wendy Rawlins of the Fund. "We hope that our joint effort in this way of sharing is another step in the widening and strengthening of the movement toward a better world."

Lately, there has not been as much money coming in as there has been going out to meet these needs, so WRLers are encouraged to send contributions to *The Peacemaker,* 1255 Paddock Hills Avenue, Cincinnati, Ohio 45229.

REVERSE FAVORABLE RULING ON TAX RESISTANCE

A federal court decision upholding refusal of American Friends Service Committee to withhold taxes from 2 of its employees who are war tax resisters, has been reversed by the Supreme Court with Justice Douglas dissenting.

WRL, which had planned to sue IRS on the basis of the lower court decision, now will consult with attorneys on the advisability of proceeding. Earlier this year, IRS seized $3432.58 from WRL for failure to withhold taxes from its employees who are war tax resisters.

WAR RESISTERS IN ISRAEL

by Penina Migdal Glazer & Mickey Glazer

Penina Glazer is professor of sociology at Hampshire College.
Mickey Glazer is professor of sociology at Smith College.

(excerpted by the authors from a longer paper on the subject)

During the spring of 1974, we spent four months in Israel studying Israeli war resisters. Our previous work on American conscientious objectors during World War II stimulated our interest in how pacifists and political resisters fared in a war-torn land.

Locating the resisters was a major challenge. Fortunately, the Friends World Peace Diary listed two names which proved useful, Yeshiahu Shick and Joseph Abileah, the secretary and former secretary of WRI's Israeli section. With their assistance we tried to contact as many as possible who were still resident in Israel and who had refused to do military service. Ultimately, we interviewed 17 resisters.

The resisters are unusual men and women, marginal to the main flow of Israeli life yet very much a product of Israel. Most of the seventeen we located and others that we heard about are Sabras (native born), middle class, of Ashkenaze (European) background. Nothing about their family backgrounds can be distinguished from thousands of other Israelis. Their reasons for resistance range from an absolute belief in nonviolence to selective objection for political purposes. Some have fairly well-developed ideologies which motivate their resistance. Others are critical of recent Israeli policies but vague on their formulation of alternative policies. Whether absolute pacifists or not, all are war resisters by virtue of their refusal to respond affirmatively to military conscription.

To resist the draft or reserve duty is to defy the legally almost inescapable call to service. This call has the support of the overwhelming majority of the nation who draw one conclusion from their recent history and their present situation. *Ein Breira*–there is no choice. People have always wanted to kill the Jews and they still do. The memory of the European holocaust is still very much alive.

This national consensus creates overwhelming pressure to conform to military obligation. It also breeds an intolerance against war resisters who challenge sacred values. It is the sort of intolerance that made an old man on a bus publicly berate a war resister whose picture he had seen in the newspaper. This young man explained to us how damaging were the effects of being stigmatized as a resister. Rising to speak at a Mokked (a left-wing dovish political party) meeting, he was immediately shouted down with cries of "You have no right to speak, you didn't serve. Where were you when we needed you?" One of his strongest doubts about his decision to resist arises from his feeling that he had lost the right to criticize what he did not defend.

The resisters' experience with the military, on the other hand, is not entirely consistent with the social isolation and cultural intolerance which they experience in every day encounters in the civilian world. Israel is famous for its unwieldy bureaucracy and endless red tape. Yet, this is not the case in the military interaction with war resisters. As Americans we were impressed by the relatively direct way in which so many resisters were treated. They were not given a bushel of forms to fill out. Instead, fatherly officers were brought in to discuss the resister's position.

The army is a people's army and everyone is in it–the left, the center, the right. To incorporate this wide spectrum of views there appears to be almost a familial orientation. Officers of radical credentials try to convince critical young men to change their minds. At times, officers even talk of having a bad conscience in administering jail sentences.

Nonetheless these jail sentences are painful, especially for young resisters. One 18 year old in basic training agreed to work as a medic but refused to bear arms. He was alone and confused when sent back to the classification center for his failure to pass basic training despite the intervention of an understanding officer. The place was big and overwhelming and he decided to leave. He was judged as AWOL rather than on grounds of conscience and sentenced to fifty days. The incarceration was extremely difficult and Uri felt he had to protest his conviction. He began a three day fast and refused to do any work, landing in solitary confinement for his efforts. After a few days Uri and the officials came to an agreement: if he would end his fast, they would give him books to read and not force him to work.

Uri's family was mortified. His father and brother declared they never wanted to see him again and his girlfriend left him. In those hard days, he had no support. Ultimately, his brother, an officer in the army, became convinced of his sincerity. He arranged for Uri to be an athletic trainer for soldiers. This was ok until the Yom Kippur war broke out. Uri decided to assist in the delivery of supplies without using any weapons. He felt he had to see the war firsthand. The entire experience was traumatic for him–the cemeteries of tanks and endless dead bodies. He worked for a while supervising physical exercise for soldiers, but the experience left him in a state of shock and he felt he had to go home and have nothing more to do with the military.

After a few days his commanding officer, who was home on leave, came to Uri's house and said, "What are you doing? They'll send you to jail. Come back with me." Uri agreed and finished the last months of his service in a non-fighting unit.

As the cases of Uri and others illustrate, the Israeli army uses its flexibility well and many officers exhibit genuine sensitivity, which is, of course, no small feat. Yet, Israel has refused to institutionalize the rights of COs. The government is committed to the fundamental premise that there is no choice–everyone must fight, for survival is at stake. Thus far, there has not been a sufficient number of resisters to lobby effectively for any modification of this position.

Israel's war resisters epitomize the dilemma which confronts thousands of their countrymen. Resisters are not alone in questionning reliance on military might, in pointing to missed opportunities for peace initiatives, or in raising ethical concerns about morality in war. Certain intellectuals, dissenting politicians, kibbutzniks and even some high school students have voiced significant public criticism of certain Israeli priorities and policies. Yet most are too threatened by the danger to Israel to sympathize with the resisters' actions. In this regard the resisters have chosen a lonely and isolated path.

There is very little likelihood that pacifists or even political resisters will have any serious impact on the political or military policies of Israel. There is once again talk of renewed hostilities in the Middle East and most Israelis will probably have little patience with those who advocate solutions of nonviolence, confederation or a bi-national state. As long as threat of survival is a major issue, war resisters will remain an isolated and even reviled group.

What impact can war resisters have in such circumstances? By their actions and their ideas they can contribute to a culture of dissent and they can fight for legal options for minorities. As outsiders they have the leisure to experiment with new ideas, solutions, and strategies which may pave the way for future agents of political change. Whether or not Israeli war resisters will meet this challenge is still unknown. Their isolation and small number make their task difficult, yet the willingness of some to sacrifice for principles they hold deeply may ultimately contribute to Israel's search for a better national life.

THE WRL

by Ed Hedemann

It has often been a popular pastime of the established press to proclaim that "the movement is dead." The proclamations are almost as frequent as the "light at the end of the tunnel" statements during the height of the Vietnam War.

As the war in Vietnam has altered its form, so has the movement. Participants in anti-war activities haven't disappeared, only the emphasis is different–community work and cooperatives rather than as much overt political activity. The commitment is to make fundamental changes in society and its institutions; set up alternatives rather than reform decaying institutions.

It seems appropriate to review one part of the movement since the "ceasefire"–the WRL local group. In January 1973 when the Paris Peace Agreements were being signed there were 27 WRL local groups; a few months later there were only 19. Seven more dissolved after that. *However,* there has been a resurgence of activity in 1974: 13 WRL local groups were formed, more than any previous year! The current 27 WRL groups are listed below and displayed on the map.

In summary over the past 10 years, 65 groups were formed, 40 have since dissolved. WRL groups last anywhere from a month to over 9 years (WRL/West). The average lifetime of locals which have gone out of existence is one and a half years.

The hypothetical "healthy" local may have anywhere from 5 to 15 active, dedicated members (those who attend meetings, work, and participate in decision making). This group can often call on about 25 or so people for a demonstration or project. And such a local may have a mailing list of 100 to 200 people–silent supporters who contribute from time to time.

The typical WRL local group meets once a week to once a month; usually has a seminar or study group which meets weekly or bi-weekly; demonstrates on April 15 and August 6 as well as other times during a year; may be involved in a living collective or cooperatives.

During the National Committee meeting after the WRL National Conference in September, a rather broad and lengthy proposal to build WRL local groups was approved. This proposal calls for the systematic establishment of about 12 regional offices throughout the country (there are currently 5). The primary function of these offices is to assist people within their region to organize demonstrations and nonviolence educational seminars, carry out WRL programs, set up speaking engagements, etc.–and, where practical, form local groups.

Implementation of this proposal will require WRL to raise an additional $40,000 per year as regional offices are formed and others become financially independent. Only two of the current five regional offices are operating without funds from the National Office. Basically, this money would go towards the salary of a regional organizer (the office should have the equivalent of at least two full-time organizers) and office supplies.

There are about three other national pacifist organizations with a network of groups around the country: Movement for a New Society, Fellowship of Reconciliation (which has begun only recently to push formation of local F.O.R. groups), and the Peacemakers (which has tended to be composed of individuals in various parts of the country, but now is reviving the concept of "cell groups" with which they began in 1948). American Friends Service Committee has a series of regional resource centers rather than strictly local groups, but this varies from office to office. The ideal for nonviolent organizers is to have these various networks operate in a complimentary way with each other–e.g., coordination of actions (either regionally or nationally), promote the same speakers, etc. Sometimes it may even be appropriate to have locals form different networks in the same city or a local having dual national identities (as already the case in some instances). This, of course, is dependent on the people within each community.

To assist local organizing the National Office has produced the *WRL Organizers' Manual* ($3.50) and the monthly *WRL Organizers' Bulletin.* The *Bulletin* carries reports from the locals to help develop a sense of solidarity and to swap ideas about organizing. In addition, the *Bulletin* has announcements about speakers, movies, slide shows, tapes, and other resources. All local groups receive a 30% discount on WRL literature, and are sometimes supplied with free literature. Each local is entitled to one voting member of the National Committee. Lastly, a member of the National Staff (EH) spends full time assisting (in whatever way he can) local groups and the formation of new locals. Any who are interested in organizing a WRL local in their community are encouraged to write for information.

REGIONAL OFFICES

WRL/West
1380 Howard Street, 2nd floor
San Francisco, CA 94103

AWIN
P.O. Box 7477
Atlanta, GA 30309

WRL/Southwest
P.O. Box 25363
Albuquerque, NM 87125

WRL/Plains-Midwest
3950 Rainbow Blvd.
Kansas City, KS 66103

WRL South Central
4106-B Avenue G
Austin, TX 78751

LOCAL GROUPS

CALIFORNIA

Islandia, Inc.
1636 Lompico Road
Felton, CA 95018

Los Angeles WRL
629 South Hill
Los Angeles, CA 90014

Thomas Merton Unity Center/WRL
892 Camino Del Sur
Isla Vista, CA 93017

Sacramento WRL
4314 Alderwood Way
Sacramento, CA 95018

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Washington WRL
2237 40th Pl. NW No. 3
Washington, DC 20007

HAWAII

Hawaii WRL/catholic Action
1918 University Avenue
Honolulu, HI 96822

ILLINOIS

Chicago WRL
5729 Dorchester Avenue
Chicago, IL 60637

Oak Park WRL
806 Carpenter
Oak Park, IL 60304

INDIANA

Muncie WRL
P.O. Box 805
Muncie, IN 47305

NETWORK

IOWA

Iowa City WRL
Center for Peace & Justice
P.O. Box 1043
Iowa City, IA 52240

KANSAS

UMKC WRL
9606 Outlook Drive
Overland Park, KS 66207

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston WRL
40 Highland Ave.
Sommerville, MA 02143

Greater New Bedford WRL
118 Maxfield Street
New Bedford, MA 02740

MICHIGAN

Detroit WRL
692 West Forest
Detroit, MI 48201

Grand Rapids WRL
241 Charles S.E.
Grand Rapids, MI 49503

MINNESOTA

Twin Cities WRL
2005 Vincent Ave. North
Minneapolis, MN 55411

MISSOURI

Columbia WRL
105 Gentry Hall
Columbia, MO 65201

NEW JERSEY

Jersey Shore WRL
364 Westwood Ave. (No. 80)
Long Branch, NJ 07740

NORTH CAROLINA

Chapel Hill WRL
108-B Purefoy Road
Chapel Hill, NC 27514

OHIO

Northeast Ohio WRL
c/o Humanity House
475 W. Market
Akron, OH 44303

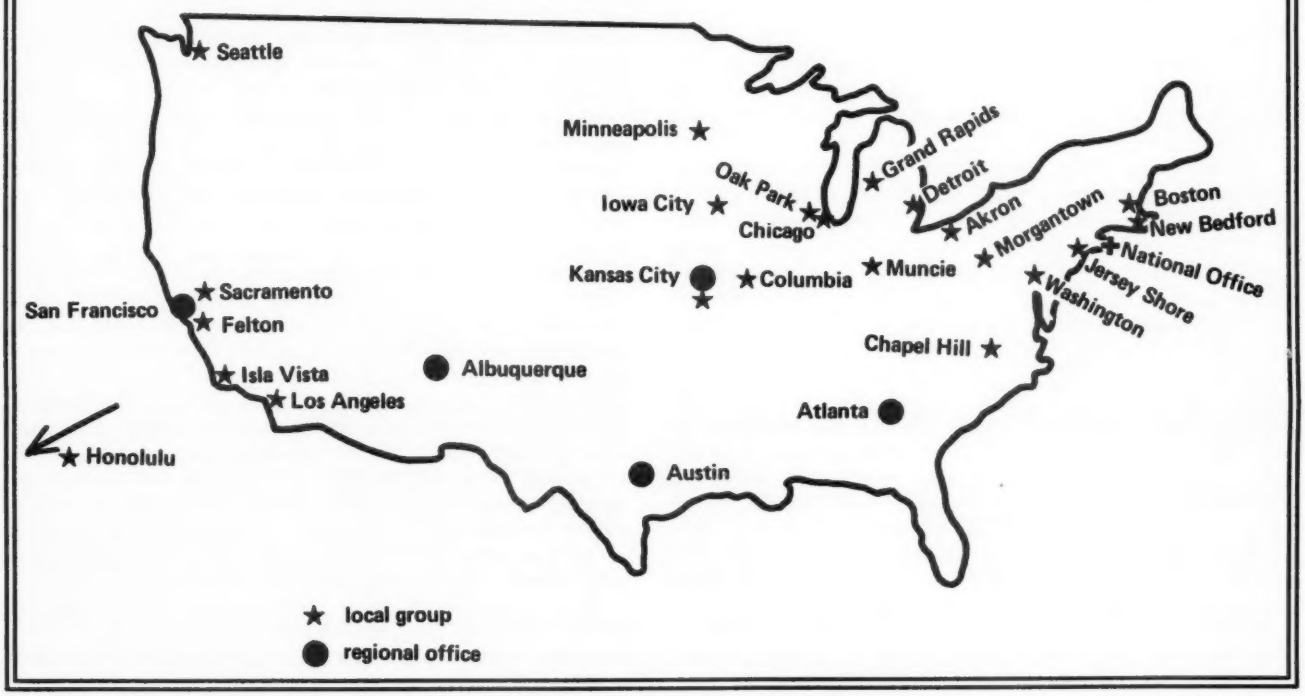
WASHINGTON

Seattle WRL
2713 NE 94th Street
Seattle, WA 98115

WEST VIRGINIA

Morgantown WRL
345 Prospect Street, No. 607
Morgantown, WV 26505

Distribution of WRL Local Groups



A. J. MUSTE LITERATURE

February 11, 1975, will mark eight years since A. J. Muste's death. So a reminder that we still have available:

PEACE AGITATOR, Nat Hentoff's biography of A. J. (only a few of our stock of remainders is left). $1.50

ESSAYS OF A. J. MUSTE, edited by Nat Hentoff $3.45

OF HOLY DISOBEDIENCE, A. J.'s noted essay on civil disobedience . . . . . 30¢

LIBERATION MAGAZINE's A. J. MEMORIAL ISSUE (reduced in price) . . . . . 50¢

THE NUCLEAR MENACE

by Beverly Woodward

The nuclear menace is invisible and we have become accustomed to living with it. Even the injuries and damage to health produced by nuclear testing and the operation of nuclear power plants have tended (so far) to be difficult to detect. There have been a number of "small" accidents and beyond that probably cases of cancer that would not otherwise have occurred. For the most part, however, there is no way of showing that any given case of cancer is the result of exposure to nuclear radiation. So we have learned to live with the hazards, in some cases have even belittled them, and turned our attention to such visible evils as the U.S. intervention in Indochina, sexism, racism, and the weaknesses of our economic system–all items which have provided a full agenda of work to be accomplished.

The invisibility of the nuclear menace, though, is no indication that the menace is static, nor is the passage of time any proof that "everything is under control". A number of recent events point to new dangers: (1) the push to hasten the construction of nuclear power plants as a result of the burgeoning "energy crisis"; (2) the use of nuclear power plants as an instrument of international diplomacy, as evidenced by the U.S. offer of these plants to Israel and Egypt (supposedly under strict safeguards, but one can question how effective these would be); (3) the Indian test of a nuclear explosive thinly veiled as a test solely for peaceful purposes; (4) the probable acquisition of nuclear weapons by other countries, notably Israel; (5) the results of SALT, which "limit" strategic arms at levels beyond what is already possessed and have provided our Secretary of Defense with an excuse for advocating forces beyond those previously planned.

There are three kinds of dangers here. They are the dangers posed by an increasing use of and reliance on nuclear energy, the dangers of nuclear proliferation, and the dangers involved in shifts in the strategic postures of the superpowers. A few words about each are in order.

Nuclear power plants: for years the Atomic Energy Commission did a marvelous "snow job" on the American public, attempting to convince us that living next door to a nuclear power plant would be no more dangerous than living next door to an ice cream plant and that in general the hazards of the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes were minimal. At first only a handful of courageous scientists were willing to point out that there were any flaws in this "spiel" and the AEC did its best to discredit them as knaves or eccentrics. Now, however, the volume of protest and concern has grown much greater among not only "radicals" but "respectables". The Union of Concerned Scientists is an instance of the latter. They have recently put out a hard-hitting pamphlet pointing out the dangers of plutonium which is a key element in the production of nuclear power. Plutonium has been called "fiendishly toxic". A very small particle of it, if inhaled, causes cancer. It can be stolen and its dispersal threatened. It can be dispersed accidentally. And it can be used to make bombs (as demonstrated in the Indian explosion).

Plutonium is not the only source of danger. The reliability of the emergency core cooling system–ECCS–is another point of contention. When normal cooling processes fail, the ECCS is supposed to restore cooling water to the hot nuclear reactor core, so as to prevent overheating. If it fails to do this, a major accident may result, which, according to the AEC's own studies (made public only as a result of "citizen" pressure) could cause 45,000 casualties and affect an area the size of the State of Pennsylvania.

Finally there is the hazard posed by the radioactive wastes produced by nuclear plants. So far no reliable method of isolating and storing these materials has been discovered or devised. Since the radioactive materials will remain dangerous for thousands of years, a horrible legacy for future generations may be created.

A single agency, the AEC, was given the task of developing this form of energy *and* regulating its development, which led to typical bureaucratic efforts at self-preservation "no matter what". Recent Congressional action has abolished the AEC and replaced it with the Energy Research and Development Administration and the Nuclear Regulatory Commission, but there are no signs that this reorganization will bring the closing of existing nuclear plants and/or a moratorium on the construction of new plants.

Nuclear proliferation: the dangers of nuclear proliferation are obvious. More fingers on more buttons do not make the world safer. The Arms Control Association (a private group) lists six countries (besides Israel) which have the capacity to build nuclear weapons and which may be under some political pressure to do so: Argentina, Brazil, Egypt, Pakistan, South Africa and Spain. At a recent symposium featuring members of the Harvard-MIT Arms Control Seminar, nuclear war within 25 years was predicted and Professor George Rathjens forecast war between emerging countries such as India and Pakistan or Israel and the Arab countries rather than the Soviet Union and the United States. (of course, such a war could expand to include the superpowers.) Some argue that the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. are a major cause of the proliferation, since they have not fulfilled their part of the bargain with regard to the nuclear nonproliferation treaty in which they pledged they would "pursue negotiations in good faith on effective measures relating to the cessation of the nuclear arms race at an early date and to nuclear disarmament, *including a treaty on general and complete disarmament.*" (Emphasis added.) The nonnuclear countries see no reason why there should be a double standard where nuclear arms are concerned and are reluctant to renounce what others already have.

Shifting strategies of the superpowers: in recent years there has been increasing evidence that the U.S. was shifting from a "countervalue" to a "counterforce" posture, i.e., from mutual assured destruction (MAD) to a flexible response. Countervalue deterrence is based on the threat of massive retaliation against the "enemy's" cities in case a nuclear attack occurs, whereas counterforce strategy aims at knocking out the "enemy's" land-based nuclear weapons (or a part of them), so as to keep the war and the resulting damage more limited. If deterrence should fail, the second response appears more "humane". Unfortunately, acquiring the capability to knock out the "enemy's" land-based weapons involves new temptations to strike first, since one can thereby eliminate part of the "enemy's" retaliatory power. To be sure, since both sides possess nuclear submarines that are still relatively invulnerable to attack, the threat of retaliation can't really be eliminated. Nevertheless any kind of first strike capability is considered destabilizing. Furthermore, a counterforce strike is not in fact necessarily more humane than a countervalue strike, since most missiles are located in or near heavily populated areas.

These developments, taken together, pose a major challenge for the nonviolent movement. Invisible though the nuclear threat may seem, we must begin once again to mobilize ourselves against it. This will require a coordinated effort bringing together the energies of the various nonviolent groups (though unilateral initiatives on the part of groups such as WRL are also in order). It will require a return to our own past history to understand the strengths and the weaknesses of our anti-nuclear efforts in the late 50's and early 60's. And it will require seeing the interrelationships of several objectives: a moratorium on nuclear power plants, the beginning of unilateral disarmament, and the creation of alternative means of defense and alternative communities to defend.

THE RELEVANCE OF APRIL 15

the WRL Staff

A.J. Muste pointed out long ago that governments need two prime resources in order to conduct a war–people and money. However, the Indochina War has seen a tremendous shift in emphasis away from large numbers of troops to sophisticated electronic weaponry. This in turn has reduced the number of combat personnel, but increased the needed revenue to sustain such a system.

The shift, complimented with a return to a volunteer army, has reduced the importance of draft resistance as a tool to fight wars. But it has increased the importance and necessity to stop the flow of money to the military–tax resistance.

If we are serious in our determination to end wars and their causes, we must not support killing whether it is pulling the trigger (or more accurately, pushing the button), or paying others to do the killing for us, or help in making weaponry.

Though some have felt the need for tax resistance disappeared when the Paris Peace Agreements were signed, it is as relevant as ever since: 1) the U.S. is the sole support of the Saigon regime in its war against the Vietnamese, 2) the U.S. continues to pay the debts of the Vietnam War as well as that of Cambodia and Laos, 3) the Department of Defense budget, still the major part of the Federal budget, continues to finance new weapons programs, 4) the U.S. is a major arms supplier to right-wing dictatorships all over the world (e.g., Chile, Spain, Philippines), 5) the telephone tax (due to expire in 1982) remains on to raise additional revenues for the Indochina War debt, 6) military spending aside, the Federal budget is generally unresponsive to human needs, and 7) individual control over how one's own taxes are spent is practically nonexistent.

Some in the movement have argued that tax resistance is too small to have a significant effect on the military budget, that if it does have an effect the government will reduce domestic spending *first*, that it is a negative act, and that it is not worth the risks involved.

Effectiveness arguments are tricky to deal with because of the difficulty to determine what is effective and what isn't. Sometimes, such discussions become arguments for doing nothing because of concern that the action–whatever it may be–is not effective. Did the four men who sat in at the Woolworth lunch counter in Greensboro, N.C., in 1960 have any idea that their action was to spark sit-ins in hundreds of cities all over the South? Did Rosa Parks know what was to become of her refusing to give up her seat to a white man in 1955? Revolutions and mass movements usually begin on a much smaller scale. None of the foregoing, of course, negates the need to do something just because it may be personally satisfying or is in line with one's conscience.

There is evidence that tax resistance has been disturbing to the government. It is at least a *stronger form* of protest to government policies than, say, signing a petition, writing a letter to a Representative, or even *voting*.

It is certainly true that the government finding itself short on revenues would cut domestic programs before touching the military budget, as in fact has been happening the last several years. This points to the necessity of war resisters to seize their own tax money and channel it into proper community and other domestic programs–a very positive act. There exist a number of alternative funds around the country which make grants or loans to appropriated domestic (or at least, non-military) programs.

Actions loosely grouped under the heading "tax resistance" can range from the no risk act of filing an 843 form (requesting refund of income taxes) to the low risk of not paying the telephone tax to higher risks of not even filing the annual 1040 form. Whatever one chooses is purely an individual matter. In fact, the IRS usually allows tax refusers to pay up at any point along the line without penalty (except for late interest charges).

But we must be willing to take some risks in order to achieve the kind of society we want. Those in power will not willingly give up their power. In fact, in the long run it may be more risky for us (and certainly many people in other countries, e.g., Vietnam and Chile) to not take the chances necessary to change this society, to not object when there is something wrong, to not build alternatives to oppressive institutions.

This does not mean we should casually begin resisting taxes without realizing the serious penalties sometimes involved. However, in the past 15 years there may have been only one person who (briefly) spent time in jail for not paying war taxes. The dozen or so people jailed a few months for war tax resistance did so for inflating W-4 forms or not revealing sources of assets.

All governments basically rest on the assumption that people will obey. Governments rely on force in small scale instances to instill a degree of fear, the most powerful weapon of control, in the general public. A whole army cannot budge a noncooperating citizenry. Senator Bellmon of Oklahoma quoted an IRS official as having said that "if the taxpayers of this country ever discover that the IRS operates on 90% bluff, the entire system will collapse."

Planning for actions on April 15 or the week preceding should begin now. Community tax resistance clinics, campaigns joining tax resister money to community programs, information tables, etc., could draw considerable support during these times of inflationary recession.

For information on the specifics of tax resistance, Bob Calvert's book *Ain't Gonna Pay for War No More* (available from WRL for $1.50) is the best reference. WRL also has available pamphlets on income tax resistance and telephone tax resistance.

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NEW WRL OFFICERS

Irma Zigas has been re-elected by the National Committee as WRL Chairperson for 1975-76. Long-time WRL member Larry Gara from Wilmington, Ohio, and WRL/West field secretary Steve Ladd (Berkeley) were elected vice-chairpersons.

Also elected were Norma Becker, Wendy Schwartz, and Allan Solomonow to the Steering Committee. As a result of a decision at the September 1974 National Committee meeting the offices of NYC vice-chairperson, treasurer, and secretary were replaced by 3 "steering committee" members. The Steering Committee, which is composed of chairperson, staff, and elected steering committee members, makes interim decisions between Executive Committee meetings.

ON THIS SECOND ANNIVERSARY OF THE PEACE AGREEMENT

by Don Luce

Don Luce lived and worked in South Vietnam for more than a decade. He played a key role in the Congressional discovery of the tiger cages and is currently national director of Clergy and Laity Concerned.

Two years ago Richard Nixon ordered the senseless, vindictive Christmas bombing of Hanoi. The world remembers those terrible days as we remember Dresden, Hiroshima, Nagasaki. But we also know that millions of Americans marched, wrote letters and organized in protest to those maniac bombings of Bach Mai Hospital and Kham Tien Street.

Let us never forget that it was those crys of protest that gave our people some tiny thread of honor in a terrible time. And produced the Paris Agreements of January 27, 1973.

We were war-weary in those early days of 1973–just as we are today. And we used that treaty–now broken by our leaders and ourselves over and over–to ease our conscience. We want so desperately to move on to other things. BUT

–American bombs are being dropped on Vietnamese villages despite our pledge that "the United States will ..ot continue its military involvement or interfere in the internal affairs of Vietnam." (article 4)

–The planes that drop those bombs take off from the monstrous U.S. bases of Chu Lai, DaNang, Tan Son Nhut and Pleiku despite our pledge for the "dismantlement of all (US) military bases in South Vietnam." (article 6) The world must not accept the State Department's feeble cry: "But we turned them over to the Vietnamese. They are no longer ours to dismantle."

–Buddhist monks, students, farmers, lawyers, artists, market people, writers remain shackled in the prisons of Con Son, Tan Hiep, Chi Hoa, Thu Duc ... and in the insane asylums of Bien Hoa and Cho Quan. Three major papers have been closed for printing an anti-corruption public statement by conservative Catholic priests. Laws have been enacted and enforced to keep the malnourished refugees and slum-dwellers from returning to their own farms which are under Provisional Revolutionary Government control. We pay for this repression despite Article 11 which "ensure (s) the democratic liberties of the people: Personal freedom, freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of meeting, freedom of organization, freedom of political activities, freedom of residence ..."

* * *

The situation in Viet Nam has not changed! The number of Vietnamese and Cambodians being killed every day by our weapons and technology is more than 100; more than 50,000 Vietnamese and Cambodians were killed on both sides during 1974. Huynh Tan Mam is still imprisoned. Cao Thi Que Huong is still in a re-education center. The Thieu regime is still hated by most Vietnamese.

But our ability to end that war is at an all-time high. The country realizes that we have been and are being deceived by our "leaders". The country knows that the Viet Nam war destroyed and is destroying our economy. The country knows that we sent our young men and technology to Viet Nam in violation of every moral principle that we try to instill in our children.

The thing that keeps the Viet Nam war going is its own momentum, the fear of losing face by Gerald Ford, and the fear of losing money by a few individual companies.

We can end the Viet Nam war in 1975 if we work together.

We have a new Congress. And Congress can cut the funds. There is a positive increase of about 50 votes in the House and a couple more votes in the Senate. Everyone of us should communicate our feelings to both of our Senators and our Representative now.

On January 25-27, there will be an Assembly to Save the Peace Agreement in Washington. Come to Washington! Imagine the effect on the new Congress if we literally fill those cold marble halls! (for information, write Peace Assembly, 120 Maryland Avenue NE, Washington, D.C. 20002 or phone (202) 546-8646).

War Resisters League, Clergy and Laity Concerned, and the American Friends Service Committee maintain up-to-date biographies on hundreds of Vietnamese political prisoners. Several dozen have already been released because of the concern of schools, communities and individuals. Get a name and biography from WRL, CALC, or AFSC and write letters to your representatives, your newspaper, the Saigon Embassy. Call the radio talk shows (for more information, write Jan Duren, CALC, 235 E. 49th Street, New York, NY 10017).

Besides pressuring Congress and writing on behalf of individual political prisoners, there are many other things each of us can do: set up a Vietnamese dinner in your community to raise funds for aid to Vietnam; set up a model tiger cage, leaflet, and demonstrate; arrange for slide shows, films, and literature (write WRL for information); refuse to pay federal war taxes. Perhaps the most important thing is to be a part of a community so that we don't burn out, so we support each other!

Let's be proud. There are more heros from the Viet Nam war than from any other war in America's history. Dr. Howard Levy, who refused to train the Green Berets ... Don Dawson who refused to fly more missions over Cambodia and Mike Heck who refused to continue the B-52 Christmas bombing of Hanoi ... the thousands of men who refused to cooperate with Selective Service System ... the millions of women, men and children who marched on the streets of Washington, D.C., San Francisco, and dozens of other cities shouting "STOP THIS WAR" ... Ron Ridenour who kept writing letters until finally Sy Hersh listened and My Lai was disclosed ... Ron Young, Tom Cornell and the thousands who burned their draft cards ... Dan Ellsberg and Tony Russo ... Wayne Morse and Ernest Gruening ... the women and men who stopped payment on their federal war taxes ... Jane Kennedy who demagnetized Dow Chemical's electronic system for making napalm ... the dozens of draft board raiders who monkey-wrenched the SSS machinery .....

These people stopped the bombing of the dikes of north Viet Nam, saving millions of people from starvation. The protesting "grunts" brought the ground troops home. For the first time in our history, we said NO to the kind of imperialism that gave the American Indians cholera-ridden blankets, sold the African villagers into slavery, provided the Brazilian and Greek military juntas their torture chambers, and gave the inhabitants of Hiroshima and Nagasaki the unique experience of an Atomic Bomb explosion.